SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Policy of the New Administration. From the Washington National Intelligencer.

Two weeks have elapsed since the election, and already the excited discussions which characterized the canvass, both in the press and on the hustings, are hushed, and the whole country is speculating over what is to be the future course and policy of "the coming man," in his conduct of the civil affairs of the Republic.

This is a subject of deep and solemn interest to the people of this country. To find out and safely conjecture that course and policy by the lights of his past life and actions is by no means an easy under aking. The talents, experience, and knowledge necessary in the conduct of varied concerns of a great Government like that of the United States are so entirely different from those required in the management of a single and distinct branch of the public service, that we can form no adequate conjecture of what the success of

General Grant is likely to be.

We wish to do the President elect justice, and we mean to give him an earnest and generous support in all measures which he may project for the restoration of peace to our distracted country; the restoration of the rule and reign of the Constitution in this land; the lifting off the burdeus of taxation from the labor of the people; the introduction of economy and honesty into the administration of every branch of the public service; the relief of the financial difficulties which now afflict the Government and the people alike; the payment of the public debt in as honest and speedy a manner as possible, with justice to all classes alike, exclusive privi-leges to none; the remanding of the State governments of the Southern States to the centrol and management of their own people, and the States of the Union to as per-fect an equality in every respect as they enjoyed before the breaking out of the unfortunate hostilities which have so sorely afflicted the whole country. If he will turn his energies in this direction, and realize the sublime fact that "peace has its triumphs as well as war," and that he is the President of the whole people, and not of a party, he may make himself a name and renewn which may yet give him a claim to stand on the same pinnacle of fame with Washington and Jackson, as he is about to take his seat in the same chair which they occupied at two important epochs in our history, when difficulties no less formidable than those which now encompass him threatened the cause of liberty and constitutional right in this land. Distinguished as he is now, when reflected in the gleam of his sword, he must seek to be great by protecting the constitutional liberties of the country in the Cabinet. As great as the military glory of Washington and Jackson was, the civic renown which encircles their memory and history is far more resplendent. They never forgot the sublime injunction which was imposed upon them by their oaths, to reverence and protect the Constitution as the

anchor of all the hopes of their country. They

had a party to obey, but never forgot that

they had a country to serve. Thus thought

and thus asted the hero-s of the first and

With General Grant himself is then the

second War of Independence.

issue. He now holds his own destiny and the destinies of his country in his own hauds. Without the civic experience of either Washington or Jackson, he may yet emulate their renewn, and may make their lives and conduct models for his own. Their teachings, with those of all the great sages men who have rendered the administration of our Government illustrious, are before Aided by that common sense with which God has endowed him, and his knowledge of men acquired in his intercourse with them, he ought to be able to call to his counsels the best men in his party. If he will do this he will start tairly, and win the confidence of his countrymen in advance. He will need the conservative man of his party. He has said, "Let us have peace," and thousands upon thousands of his countrymen took him at his word, and voted for him; because they believed that he meant the peace which an observance of the Constitution and the law brings, and not the turmoil, disorder, and bloodshed which force, the bayonet, and the bullet produce. If he seeks to be great, as he is now distinguished, he must put his foot down upon vindictiveness and revenge, and come back to the feelings of honesty and fairness which burst from his own heart when he met General Lee and the remnant of his gallant army at Appemattox Court House, and when he made his report to President Johnson of the condition of the South and the bearing and temper of its people towards the Government. With all of his retidence, all of his apparent coldness of nature, here was a gleam of relief to it-generosity in the hour of triumph. It awoke a response in the heart of the country, and excited the alarm and fear of the Jacobins in the Capitol. Now another and greater hour of triumph is here. Can he be as magnanimous now as he was generous then? We shall ree.

An Appeal to America.

From the N. Y. Times. A number of European radical Democratic-Republicans-including representatives from France, Spain, Italy, Poland, England, Germany, Slavonia, Switzerland, and Belgiumhave issued an address to the "People and Congress of the United States o' America." Over its head is the device, Liberty, Equa-

lity, Fraternity. It opens by glorifying the American republic

which has "issued victorious from a colossal struggle for liberty."

By tortuous steps it advances toward a point, which we may as well signalize at once, by saying that it is a cry for American intervention in behalf of liberty in Europe, and more immediately in behalf of republicanism in

It argues that, after freeing the blacks of America, we have still the duty of freeing the whites of Europe-that the European slave. though called a subject or proletarian, is none

the less a slave, and that "The masters of the whites are not better masters for being Kings and Popes; and the great principle of the equality of races of mankind, which stirred the North against the South, one had of the Redubile against the other, for the negroes, should now air the whole republication really United States of America against the save masters of Europe, in favor of the crushed or lastreest pages. who admire and easy you, and can buly on saved by copying you. Yes, your duty is to assertly, nr principles we erever you can, an consequently in spain, whose people have just shoken off the yoke. You have arroady recognized the regulation, but this is not enough. You should note this people to maintain it, to reach the object they have declared for the negligible—the republic."

But what can we do for European freedom and Spanish republicanism? Are we to fight for them, and who, when, and how are we to

These are matters which the radical Demo-

tion—at the most the taking an actitude. The least declaration of will, followed by a vessel pron the coast of Spain, and your duty is fulfilled; no more will be spoken of a monarchy for Spain. Assist the Spanish republic, and Europe will be republican without firing a shot."

We would certainly be unworthy the title of republicans and the name of men if we refused a vote and a vessel to free Europe from the crowned tyrants and armed despotisms that have for ages crushed out its liberties, ground out its life, and trampled down its people. Cengress shall take the vote, Farragut will command the ship, and-Man will be

enfranchised! But hold! Suppose a cloud should arise in yon clear heavens, and a storm burst forth threatening to shake the world, what then? Why then, thus shall it be:-

"Should there be a struggle, as there is cause to fear, you will not fall to send a fleet to protect your citizens. Very well; in this mission of defense include the republicans! All re-publicans are your citizens."

Ay, indeed! Here we have battle in earnest, war with a vengeance, and a world in arms! It begins with a "snow-flake" vote. and ends with a planetary cataclysm !

It is feared, say the radical Democratic-Republican delegates, who represent "all nations assembled in public meetings," that France, Prussia, and their allies may take a part in the Spanish imbroglio. It is feared that the tyrants may combine; and it is, in that event, to take issue with them that we are called upon in the name of liberty. This is the

We have had many appeals of this kind before from the Radical Liberals of Europe. They always touch our feelings and sympa-We have heard them in the matchless eloquence of Kossuth. We have felt them in the strong language of Garibaldi. We have read them in the passionate rhetoric of Mazzini. They come from earnest men, and from the depths of their souls. We cannot hear them without a response of the heart. We cannot refuse them without grief at its necessity.

But that which is impracticable and impossible-that which would be ruinous in the very attempt-that which would bring defeat as its first result, and dismay as its inevitable consequence-that whose assured effect would be the damage of the cause it was started to serve-might as well, first as last, be understood as sure of refusal.

And yet we know that upon the American Republic is imposed a mission for freedom and republicanism throughout the world not to be shirked. It is our mission to hold up before the nations the high attractions of democrasy, the greatness of a free people, the supremacy of man. It is our mission to develop from the democratic idea a better government, a purer society, wiser and juster laws, and a higher type of national character, than have ever een possible under a system of repression and despotism-under kings and aristocracies, and great armies and ecclesiastical establishments -under Machiavellianism and intrigue or Casarism and force. When our developed power and character shall be unfolded to the world-when we are able to display the result of institutions hardly yet complete in their formation, every despotism in Europe will be undermined, and the reign of the people will be established. But were we to go forth in folly and madness, fighting for Spain and Hungary, and Italy and Ireland, and Crete and Cuba, we should quickly find our own power undermined, and the Great Republic consigned to history.

Bombast Run into the Ground.

From "Brick" Pomeroy's N. Y. Democrat. The World, since it fell under the ban of the emocracy of the country, and is scribers by hundreds every day, is tearing around like mad to try to save itself from total destruction. It has gone into the sensation line, and is running into all sorts of exaggerations to try to attract readers. It publishes a canard every day, in the hope to check the rapid fall in its circulation. It is overstating, overacting, and inventing, to a degree unprecedented in the metropolitan press. From the stately dignity which it once assumed, it has dropped down to the performances of a mountebank, and turned the veriest blower that ever soiled white paper with rodomontade. It is in vain to seek the simple, unvarnished truth upon any subject in its columns. Such a recklessness of statement is nowhere else to be found. There is not the slightest reliance to be placed upon anything which appears in its pages. Its boastings are as ridiculous as its assumptions are false. One day it claims credit to itself for the immense Democratic majorities in the metropolitan district; the next for the whole Democratic vote of the country. Miserable pretender! The Democracy has polled an immense vote in spite of the Worl t-not in consequence of its existence, or by its aid. We should be hundreds of thousands stronger to-day if Mayor Opdyke had not closed his ears and hardened his heart against that base, whimpering ap-peal for pecuniary aid made by the vile, crawling, dirt-eating beggar who was then courting a prostitution which he professed to loathe, but so far put on a show of reluctance as to express a preference to be hired to be virtuous rather than be sold to shame. Out upon the false knave!

Where President Grant is Needed. From the N. Y. Tribune, Now, while the politicians are mustering their clans for the division of the spoils of the late victory, and before the posts of greatest trust and responsibility are allotted, we beg those interested, as every sincere Republican must be, in the success on President Grant's administration, to bear in mind that the three posts of greatest importance, in an economical point of view, are those of Secretary of the Treasury, Chief of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and Collector of the Port of New York. The first needs not so much a popular politician as a sound fluancier and an able, prompt, honest a iministrator of affairs. Of 41,000 officers of the Government, upwards of 16,000 are appointed through, and are under the orders of, the Secretary of the Treasury. We do not think it ought to require two officers to collect and pay out the money necessary to pay the other three for the services they perform. But it is true that twoof the officers of the United States are doing only this and nothing general. more. This shows that our laws for collect ing public revenue are less wisely adapted to the end than our rules for transacting private business. Our revenue laws can be so framed and administered that it shall be the interest of tariff and tax-payers to- pay honestly and promptly, and it will be mainly the fault of the management of our Treasury Department if this be not done. Congress stands ready to pass any laws which the Treasury Department may show to be adapted to obtain the prompt and economical collection of the reve-We believe that the worst and most corrupting feature of our import tariff and internal revenue laws is the system of dividing the proceeds of seizures for violations of the tax and tariff laws, and

of compromises made on such selzares,

first it might be thought a very simple matter. Informers. This pernicious and rotten system say they:—

Say they:—

Ultrare will be merely a vote, a simple resolutinternal revenue offices. What is the result? The officers of the Government are not interested in an honest collection of the revenue, for that passes all the money into the Treasury, and they get only their salaries. Their peonniary interest lies in having, or pretending, as many violations of the revenue laws as possible, for out of those result seizures, suits, compromises, and the division of hundreds of thousands of dollars among the revenue officers, as informers, the Government getting nothing or next to nothing. One of the phases of corruption to which this system gives rise is the seizure of the establishments or goods of innocent persons, in order to share in the profits of a compromise. In one instance, in this city, a col-lector was removed, partly because he would not make a seizure of a distillery which he believed was paying its tax honestly. His successor seized it, and for the next year the entire district did not pay as much revenue to the Government in one year as that one distillery bad paid per month during the year preceding. But where the revenue stopped, the plunder of the revenue officers and informers began, and they gorged themselves on the ruined establishment like vultures on a carcass, until its owner, first supposing himself driven in self-defense to manufacture without paying the tax, and then convicted of so doing, was ruined, and his fortune divided among the revenue officers as informers. The value to the collectors of this feature of the Internal Revenue law may be judged from the sworn statement of Sheridan Shook, during the impeachment trial, that the object for which the \$30,000 was raised was not to buy the President's acquittal, but to buy an amendment in the Internal Revenue law, which would secure to him as Collector a little larger share in the informers' fees in a particular class of cases. So in our Custom House, in the very act which an innoceat public is asked to believe is intended as the enforcement of the law by the seizure of the importations of some merchant who is alleged to have violated it, a closer investigation reveals only a conspiracy on the part of the revenue officers to stop at once the business of the merchant and the revenue of the Government, by making a seizure with the intent that it shall result in a compromise and the division of a great part of the value of the goods seized among the revenue officers as informers. Fortunate, indeed, is the merchant if behind the cupidity of the custom officers there is not the deeper motive of a bribe from some rival merchant willing to pay for and promote the seizure of his competitor's goods. Very often those merchants and manufacturers who are most villainous in evading payment of the revenue are most successful in escaping seizures, because the revenue officers are in their pay. On the other hand, men who have had no design to evade the revenue, and who, therefore, have not bribed the revenue officers, are subjected to seizures. Sooner than endure the expense and risks of a litigation, they either compromise or buy their way through. In either case the officers divide the plunder, while the Government gets next to nothing. To such a system has this corruption grown, and so accustomed are our merchants to buying and bribing their way through when seizures are made, that a new profession of harpies, or Custom House and revenue "shysters," has grown up, who extort large sums from those whose goods have been seized, under pretense that they have to divide the sums

so extorted among high officers of the Treasury.
There is evidently in our Internal Revenue and Customs Departments ample fleid for President Grant to distinguish his administration by conquests over corruption and iniquity even more difficult and therefore more glorious than his victory over the armed hosts of the Rebellion. When he led our troops into the conflict the common enemy had no solvent which at once took the stiffness out of their backs, the strength from their knees, and the instincts of manhood from their hearts. But as he brings his army of office-holders into the field, under a system of revenue laws which makes it the interest of those officeholders to effect as little collection of the tax and as many violations of the law as possible, he will find that four-fifths of them will accept the bribe, and deserve removal within the first year. We need, therefore, first, an entire revision of our revenue system, the payment of each man by percentages on the amount collected and salaries, and an abolition of the power to compromise suits and seizures, and, above all, an abolition of all informers' fees,

Then let us have an honest, energetic, driving, executive Secretary of the Treasury, A thorough and competent chief for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and an able, honest Collector for the port of New York, who will not try to make \$60,000 a year out of informers' fees, but will discharge every Custom House clerk that makes a dollar outside of his salary, or has any other business than his clerkship. We believe such reforms would save the Government \$100,000,000 of revenue, our men of business from \$200,000,000 more of plunder to which they are now exposed, and the public conscience from very much temptation and villainy. President Grant's influence should first be felt in our Treasury, Revenue, and Customs Departments. The incumbents in these departments will do well to set their houses in order. Strangers are coming, and coming to stay.

Representation and Non-Representation.

From the N. Y. World. The Tribune is disingenuous in saying that while the World protests against the monopolizing by the radical majority in Massachu setts of the entire Congressional delegation, it does not object to the almost entire exclusion of the radical party in this city from representation, State and Congressional. But the World does object, and, to show that it did and does rise to the broad level of a general principle, reproduces the closing sentence of that very article which provokes the inaccuracy of the Tribune. "Massachusetts," said that closing sentence, "must be reconstructed in this matter, and with her the false principle that feeds her monopoly as it does others. Here is a declaration by the World against the present fallacions system of representation, to give it that name, and not merely against the unfairness perpetrated under it in the special case of Massachusetts. That case was taken as one very prominently presenting the evil complained of, but the application was

To continue that application, we will recapitulate by saying that representation is simply re-presentation, and that where the political composition of a community is not correctly bodied forth in the assemblies purporting to represent such community, those bodies are not re-presentative but mis-presentative. The principle on which we go is that each voice shall have its share in the chorus, and not that the singing be all tenor or all bass. To illustrate this we will take the figures in the case of three States that have furnished full official returns. Obviously the correct way to fix the representation of those communities is to apportion the representatives in the ratio of opposing voters Thus, if there be a community entitled to twenty representatives and the total vote be cratic Republicans approach cautionsly. At among the officers of the Government, as 100,000, whereof 120,000 are, so to speak, A

votes and 80,000 B votes, then there should be 12 A representatives and 8 B representatives, and not, as is now generally the case, the whole 20 given to the A's, to the utter political throttling and deprivation of repreentation of the B's. To come to the actual cases, we find the votes and representation of three States, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, standing thus:

States, Seymour, Massachusetts, 56,959 Penusylvania, 313,382 842,280 Rhode Island... 6,548 12,993

28 Now, if we take the total vote in these States to get the ratio of voters entitled to a Representative, we will find that representation would stand thus:-

Ratto . 18,457 27 319 Massachusetts, 184,571 Pennsylvaula...6'5,662 Ruode Island.....19,511

Here it will be seen that, counting the larger fraction as entitled to the representative, Rhode Island remains unaltered; but in the other States a just proportion of representatives to voters is kept up. Furthermore, the figures show yet another inequality than the one we are discussing, to wit, that a voter in Rhode Island is very nearly three times as potent in the election of representatives as one in Pennsylvania, and nearly twice as potent as one in Massachusetts, while the Massachusetts voter is fifty per cent. more potent than the Pennsylvanian. Not to pursue this particular view, which serves to show how little right these New England States have to their present share of the House, we have only to repeat that the non-representation of large bodies of voters, by reason of an originally vicious system still further aggravated by partisan administration, is an evil that must be abated and will be abated on a correct comprehension of its magnitude. To the formation of such a comprehension the World will not cease to direct its efforts.

P. Y. P.

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